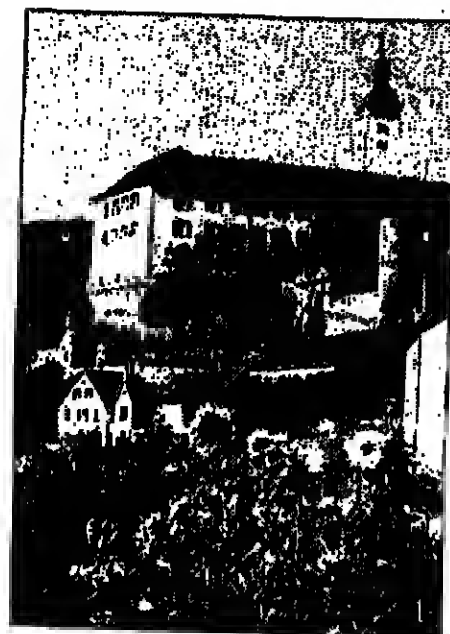


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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 27 April 1986
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Europe still lacks a role in the Mediterranean

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The United States bombed Libya against the express advice of its European allies. Despite prior warnings America's determination in the final analysis took them by surprise.

The US move raises many questions, such as how long an alliance will last when one member is expected to commit its troops to the defence of Berlin, Hamburg, Copenhagen or Rome while others refuse their protecting power permission to overfly their territory.

It also casts a bright and glaring light on the reduced role Europe now plays in the Mediterranean, a region it regards as the cradle of its civilisation.

In recent years the Europeans have not succeeded in exerting influence in the region even when their vital inter-



Chirac in Bonn
Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) and French Premier Jacques Chirac walking past an honour guard on the German leader's arrival in Bonn. It was M. Chirac's first visit to the German capital since taking over after the conservative victory in the French general election. (Photo: Sven Simon)

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ests were at stake (over half Europe's oil supplies are shipped across the Med, for instance).

This is true of both the Middle East conflict and of the state-backed terrorism that has exported the conflict to other parts of the world.

European Middle East initiatives such as the 1980 Venice Declaration have run aground.

There are demands on all sides for the Euro-Arab dialogue to be resumed, yet it has never led to tangible results, let alone politically relevant agreements.

European attempts to strike a balance in the Middle East may be more welcome to the Arabs than America's almost unconditional support for Israel, but the Arab world is well aware that the United States is the crucial Western power in the Mediterranean.

The sea that once was "our sea" to the Roman Empire is now a crossroads of world conflict.

It is the meeting-place of the industrialised and underdeveloped worlds, of dictatorial socialism (in Yugoslavia and Albania) and the free West.

To this day the Byzantine and Ottoman heritage divides the eastern Mediterranean from the west in social structure, mental outlook, economic and political concepts.

Islam has split the region into a Mohammedan south and a Christian north, a division re-emphasised by confrontation between secularised Western Europe and the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism.

After the Second World War the Europeans withdrew from the Mediterranean. It has been clear since the 1956 Suez crisis, if not earlier, that the erstwhile European great powers now play only second fiddle militarily in the region.

After Suez, when Britain and France called a halt to full-scale intervention, the Soviet Union began to boost its military presence in the area.

A look at the map would seem to belie this tale of Europe forfeiting influence in the Med. Since Greece, Spain and Portugal joined the European Community a political entity has spanned virtually the entire northern shore of the Mediterranean for the first time since the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

The accession of Spain and Portugal has also shifted the balance in the south's favour, giving Europe a historic opportunity of establishing a new role in the region.

In foreign policy the European Community is not, of course, a protagonist that can be seen as either speaking with one voice or acting in unison. Yet since the early 1970s consideration has been given by the European Commission in Brussels to a global Mediterranean policy concept based on the Community's growing economic importance for littoral states. The European Community now has association or cooperation treaties with all Mediterranean countries except Albania and Libya. A number of Mediterranean countries are also signed to help not only new southern members of the Common Market but also non-members in the region.

The long-term strategy is that more economic aid could foster greater stability in a crisis-torn part of the world. The deeper reason why Europeans were against a military option in Libya: In the long term, they feel, the Arab world will

be unable to resist the gravitational pull of the European Community with its economic clout.

In this process military moves prompting Arab solidarity with the unpopular Colonel Gaddafi and fuelling the fires of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism merely upset matters.

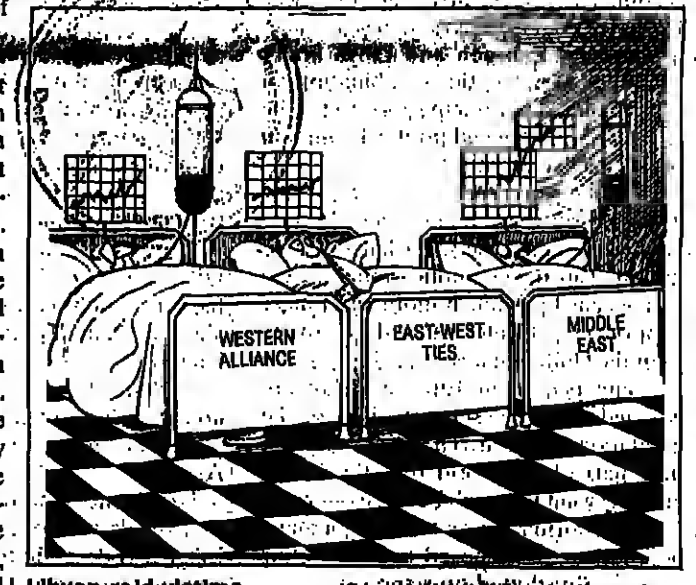
The long-term European equation may be right, but hopes of what one day may happen have been known to foster inertia where energetic activity was required.

The European Community's rejection of an economic boycott of Libya is a case in point.

Only by showing understanding for a world power's need to adopt different tactics when the need arises can Europeans hope Washington will have more patience with their strategy.

That could be a way in which partners to the Atlantic alliance who are gradually drifting apart might regain common ground.

Giinter Nonnenmacher
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 April 1986)



Libyan raid victims (Caribbean: Hühner-Straß-Anzeiger)

Soviet arms initiative

Bremer Nachrichten

When Mikhail Gorbachev outlined his proposals to abolish nuclear weapons by the end of the century doubts were voiced in the West whether the Soviet leader's proposals were feasible.

Moscow, it was argued, would then be able to make full use of its decisive, intol-erable conventional superiority.

Regardless whether or not this is the case, Mr Gorbachev's latest offer of both nuclear and conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Ufa can only be termed a shrewd move.

He has skillfully skirted the Western counter-argument against nuclear disarmament. Washington and its allies are back holding the baby in the disarmament debate.

Naturally the West cannot afford to naively agree to Mr Gorbachev's proposals, especially as East-West disarmament talks in Vienna, Geneva and Stockholm provide the Soviet Union with ample opportunities of showing how serious its intentions are.

"The West ought not, for that matter, to shelve the Soviet proposal without further consideration. The disarmament process has ground to a standstill in recent years and the international situation is far too serious, as Libya shows, to miss many more opportunities in this sector."

Nato countries must make sure they are not forced on to the propaganda defensive by the new Gorbachev initiative.

Arn Strömeyer
(Bremer Nachrichten, 19 April 1986)

■ EUROPE

Helmut Schmidt calls for common sense

The writer of this article, Hamburg Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt, was Bonn Chancellor from 1974 to 1982. He is now co-proprietor of the newspaper he here writes for, the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*.

Nato solidarity is in jeopardy. Transatlantic terrorism may not call for mutual support by the terms of the North Atlantic pact but mutual escalation may lead to a situation in which Nato is called on to act.

We are entering a dangerous stage in a state of inadequate consultation, inadequate coordination of aims and means and inadequate cooperation.

Are we perhaps witnessing the abdication of the rationale of a joint approach?

In 1969 a military coup led by Colonel Gaddafi overthrew King Idris of Libya, since when this small but oil-rich desert state and its leader have repeatedly been at the bottom of political unrest and armed conflict in other countries, such as Chad, Sudan and others.

There can also be no doubt whatever that the Libyan leader has been involved in preparing and financing many terrorist raids in other countries. In April 1984 Libyan embassy staff in London opened fire on demonstrators, shooting and killing a young policeman.

The bombing of a West Berlin discotheque cost two lives, one that of a US serviceman. The 230 people injured included 60 GIs.

Only US sources have so far clearly implicated Libya. The German authorities feel the evidence is not yet conclusive. But the raid was the last straw as far as US patience was concerned.

Other governments earlier arrived at other conclusions. I for instance carefully avoided any contact with Colonel Gaddafi, bearing in mind President Sadat's words: "He is a mental case."

He also said that if the Libyan leader didn't deserve to be imprisoned, he certainly needed a spell in hospital.

I trusted President Sadat as a personal friend. A few years after passing this judgement, which he later repeated, he was assassinated.

I then advised German firms not to commit themselves in Libya, but I never considered an economic boycott. Under my leadership the Bonn government did not take part in economic boycotts of the Soviet Union, Iran or Poland either.

We advised other governments not to take part in any such moves, arguing that they were doomed to failure.

The present Bonn government is in no way to blame for joining with other European governments in having no initial inclination to impose economic sanctions on Libya.

But what alternative did we Europeans have to offer to the US intention of dealing Libya a military blow? America was legally justified in sending ships into the 200-mile zone illegally proclaimed in no-go area by Colonel Gaddafi. It was equally justified in its military response to Libyan attacks.

If everyone were to unilaterally lay claim to territorial waters extending

200 miles out to sea we would soon have no open sea whatever: no Aegean, no Adriatic, no Baltic, no Caribbean for all.

But were the bomb raids on Tripoli and Benghazi justified? And if they were, were they wise? What will happen if they lead to war?

Have their possible repercussions on other conflicts in the Near and Middle East, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Sudan, been considered?

How will Moscow react if Soviet military advisers training Libyans to operate Soviet weapon systems are killed?

It is reasonable to assume that the direct teleprinter link between the White House and the Kremlin has been in constant use for days. But there can be no comparison with the Cuban missile crisis.

In 1962 one superpower directly threatened the other by deploying nuclear missiles on its doorstep. And Western Europe, first and foremost President de Gaulle, left President Kennedy unquestioning support.

Europe today is reluctant to support US moves. Britain apart, America's Nato allies in Europe advised against bombing Libya. Some even refused American permission to use their air space.

Western European governments have gradually forfeited their influence on Nato in recent years.

In 1982 America unilaterally rejected the "walk in the woods" proposals at the Geneva arms limitation talks on medium-range missiles. Its allies were neither informed nor consulted, yet they accepted it.

In 1983 America unilaterally proclaimed a total change in Nato military strategy in the form of SDI. Again its allies were neither informed nor consulted. They not only accepted the change; some even sought to legitimate the unilateral US move in retrospect.

Washington has grown accustomed to Europe abdicating the pursuit of Euro-

DIE ZEIT

pean interests. Europe's envoy, Foreign Minister Genscher of Germany, was in mid-Atlantic, flying to Washington, when the news came through that the US Sixth Fleet had launched its attack.

President Reagan has restored the self-confidence Americans felt before Vietnam, Watergate and President Carter's failure to rescue the US embassy hostages in Teheran. That is a major achievement.

At the same time the moralising outlook that has so often characterised US foreign policy has returned with a will, accompanied by the arrogance of power James Fulbright diagnosed 20 years ago.

Grenada, Lebanon and Libya aren't world powers, so the combination of moral and military superiority may be said to have relegated political common sense to a back-seat role.

In calling Gaddafi a mad dog President Reagan was aiming at his US television audience; the term failed to stimulate European public opinion. We Europeans have much more and longer experience of international terrorism than the United States.

Many people in Europe today are worried about the repercussions of the escalation they fear. They live, after all, in a part of the world directly threatened by what may well be fresh dangers.

In California, Texas or Georgia many people may be disposed to dismiss this

Continued on page 8

America acts while Europe dithers over Gaddafi

Views are particularly at odds when the chips are down as they were when US planes bombed Tripoli and Benghazi.

The Russians criticised the US air raids but withdrew Soviet ships from the crisis zone in time to be out of the firing line.

Southern European countries were against the bombing and refused the American permission to overfly their airspace.

The British and Canadians have sided with Washington. Had it not been for British support long-range US bombers could not have been sent into action.

On the eve of the mission British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe called at a meeting of the European Community's Council of Ministers for tough measures against Libya.

He suggested closure of the Libyan people's bureaus (embassies) in all 12 Common Market countries and agreement on economic sanctions against Libya. Herr Genscher and others demurred.

A determined European stand against Libya would have made the Americans feel military action was superfluous. European softness triggered the US raid.

News of the raid took Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by surprise in mid-air on his way to Washington, where he was planning to counsel a diplomatic approach toward Colonel Gaddafi and his government-sponsored terrorism.

The first and most pressing conclusion to be reached in this diplomatic context is that the United States as a world power is prepared to act on its own when it feels the need to do so.

The US bombardment had much in common with the Israeli air raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis last October. Selective targets, the infrastructure of Libyan state terrorism such as barracks, staff headquarters, arms depots and training camps were attacked.

In Israel's case the motive ranged from retaliation for the murder of Israeli yachtsmen in Cyprus to demoralisation of the enemy.

Unlike Israel's, America's raid was aimed at the state of Libya, which in the shape of its supreme ruler Colonel Gaddafi identifies with terrorism and practises it as a means of worldwide foreign policy.

The US motive ranged from retaliation for recent attacks on a TWA airliner and a Berlin discotheque to preventive deterrence.

This distinction is important; it denotes the new quality of the event. Libya's global terrorism is a serious danger to the civilised world. America's aim is to clip its wings.

Precise details of Libyan state terrorism are available. Between 1980 and 1985 guerrilla commandos backed, controlled or despatched by the Libyan authorities carried out raids in 18 countries and maritime areas.

They were aimed for the most part at US facilities and citizens, at transport facilities such as aircraft, airports and ships and at opponents of the Libyan leader.

In June 1984 Colonel Gaddafi announced that Libya was in a position to carry out terrorist raids in the heart of America.

Last September, on the 16th anniversary of his take-over of power, he said Libya had the right to fight America and to export terrorism to the United States.

At a 2 January 1986 press conference he threatened to hunt American tourists on the streets of the United States if Washington were to attack him after the Rome and Vienna airport bomb raids (see page 20).

President Reagan says there is direct, positive and irrefutable proof of Libyan involvement in the Berlin discotheque bombing.

The range of terrorist activity that Colonel Gaddafi is waging is not scale world war. He was not told when he said he would resort to terrorism all over the world.

Libya is not the only state to be taken to worldwide terrorism as a means of foreign policy. Iran's mullahs have sent out terrorist commandos. 1983 North Korea blew up half the South Korean Cabinet in Rangoon. Syria, Lebanon and South Yemen have tried similar tricks.

But none of them is in a position to embark on terrorism as a long-term venture on a scale that represents an international threat.

Libya in contrast, with its geographical location, its fanatical morale and Soviet arms, is the sole country capable of global terrorism.

The Libyan regime, as always when extremism is involved, is in few hands. Colonel Gaddafi, an Islamic fundamentalist and messianic prophet of extreme anti-Western Arab unity, faces domestic opposition in the event of failure.

The Soviet Union supports him not maintaining him in power. Arab opinion is divided even though the world may now be united in lending verbal support.

It is the old tale of the frog swimming across the Nile with a scorpion on its back. In mid-stream the scorpion, which cannot swim, stings the frog, answering the frog's dying question why with the words: "This is Arabia."

That isn't to say that the American raid was wise. State terrorism cannot be dealt a deadly blow by selective strikes.

Guerrilla warfare and conventional military might have operated at different levels since the days of Mao Tse-tung. Libya may have no military answer to the US attack but it can resort to further terrorism.

Libya remains a nest of "Barbaric" and there is no substitute for a ouster of the pirate chief.

We have not seen the last of what Americans began by bombing Tripoli and Benghazi. The danger has come to head and Europe's diplomatic approach is over and done with.

Faced with the facts, Europe has a choice but to devote its full attention to keeping terrorism at bay.

Robert Krause
(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 April 1986)

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■ BONN

Dissociation without condemnation

Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger

Almost everybody in Washington at the moment is talking about Libya. One person who doesn't like discussing the subject is German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

During his visit to Washington Genscher has again confirmed that he can take the wind out of the sails of almost any international crisis.

Many of Genscher's hosts must have been surprised at the skilful way in which Bonn's top diplomat talked about the MBFR talks on the reduction of military forces in Central Europe.

He did so while everybody else was speculating about how Colonel Gaddafi would respond to the bombing of Tripoli.

Herr Genscher seemed to breeze through Washington; Congress, the Pentagon, the State Department, back to the Capitol, the biographer in the German ambassador's residence, and then the White House.

He realises, of course, that he must return from Washington with some kind of credible success in order to strengthen the position of the coalition government in Bonn, whose foreign policy course is interesting in the wake of the Libya crisis.

And the best thing he can come back with is news that the Federal Republic of Germany is again taking part in the international political dialogue.

Washington is a good setting for declarations on international political issues, and Genscher has cleverly made statements on the East-West dialogue, disarmament and arms control.

He has called for a politico-strategic concept for SDI plans, urged the Americans to negotiate on the banning of nuclear tests and on ceiling levels for nuclear missiles within the Salt 2 framework.

Of course, Genscher is not surprising his ministerial colleagues, Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz, or many other members of Congress just to forward his own political views.

After all, the TV cameras don't show us everything that happens behind closed doors in Washington. What is more, his intention is obviously not to persuade the USA to return to the path of international political dialogue.

However, the world's longest-serving foreign minister is troubled by the thought that the Libyan conflict may eclipse East-West relations.

Although this wouldn't postpone a new epoch of détente indefinitely, it would mean that it is out of reach for the time being.

Moscow's decision to call off the pre-summit meeting in May cannot be regarded as a catastrophe, but it is the least the Soviets felt they could do in response to the US attack on Tripoli.

However, hardly anyone in Washington now feels that a meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev can take place before December at the earliest.

Of course, Genscher has not been

able to avoid the burning issue of the day.

Libya is no easy topic for a European foreign minister who, like almost all Europeans, was opposed to military action but obliged to stand back and see things happen.

Genscher's stance is one of dissociation without condemnation.

He now looks towards the future in line with the motto: we now need to fight terrorism more than ever, but via political means, please.

During his years as Interior Minister in Bonn Genscher had to face up to the serious problems of terrorism.

His efforts in Washington to classify the Libyan problem and its unpleasant consequences as belonging to the general framework of the fight against terrorism is by no means an attempt to play down its significance.

It is a sensitive attempt to let the Americans know what he feels about military action.

Genscher knows that the acid test on this issue will be back home.

The *Bayernkurier* has already praised the fact that Chancellor Kohl has been able to express his clear support for the Americans in the absence of his foreign minister.

There are already discussions in Bonn over whether Genscher knew or must have known about what Washington was planning and when it would strike.

Genscher's much-praised political sensitivity has a transatlantic dimension.

During his visit to the biographer at the German embassy in Washington a high-spirited Genscher refused all stab-in-the-back myths by referring to the fact that talks with President Reagan's special envoy, Vernon Walters, had taken place in Bonn and Oggersheim (Chancellor Kohl's home) the previous weekend.

Genscher's reference to the meeting in Chancellor Kohl's home ensured that, if at all, Helmut Kohl must share responsibility for the policy towards Libya and any European slip-ups, in line with the motto: if somebody was caught napping in Bonn it wasn't just Genscher.

Such subtleties, however, are more relevant in the German political context.

The Americans, however, listened carefully to what Genscher had to say on international political issues. Perhaps they are happy that somebody is willing to talk to them about East-West relations now Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has called off the pre-summit meeting.

This explains why Genscher, whose visit wasn't even worth a small headline in the papers, came to the conclusion after the first day of his visit that it was a very beneficial day despite the differing views on the military operation.

On the evening before his meeting with Genscher, however, Genscher stated that he still didn't know what they would talk about.

He said that he usually works out his concept during breakfast or in the bath. In Washington, he complained, the bath was too shallow, a comment which is bound to confirm the opinion of critics who feel that Genscher always finds fault with America.

Ronald Reagan, on the other hand, seemed to have a different opinion. After talks in the Oval Office lasting three quarters of an hour he personally accompanied his guest to his car.

Genscher, who was visibly pleased, said that this was the first time any US President had shown him this distinction.

Thomas Meyer
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 17 April 1986)

Kohl keen to rule out risk of transatlantic estrangement

Security precautions for diplomats in Bonn have been stepped up after the US air raid on Libya. British ambassador Sir Julian Bullard has been given special police protection.

The United States embassy is more closely guarded than ever before. Plittersdorf, a suburb where many American diplomats live, has been cordoned off.

Close to the American Club German police now ask passers-by to prove their identity, and people living in this area are checked several times a day.

Special security precautions have been taken to protect Ministry buildings in Bonn.

Similar measures are also being taken to prevent attacks on US institutions throughout the Federal Republic. In addition, there are tighter controls at airports.

One high-ranking official in the Bonn Foreign Office feels that the bombing in Libya will lead to "even more barbed wire and even more checks."

He then added that he hoped that this would be the only adverse effect of the US operation.

There's been a shift of emphasis in the work of the Bonn Foreign Office.

The members of the crisis committee, which government spokesman Friedrich Ost now again calls the "working committee," have adopted a wait-and-see rather than hectic attitude ever since Bonn's embassy in Tripoli announced that "all is quiet in Libya."

Earlier speculation of a second American attack proved unfounded and Genscher's reference to the meeting in Chancellor Kohl's home ensured that, if at all, Helmut Kohl must share responsibility for the policy towards Libya and any European slip-ups, in line with the motto: if somebody was caught napping in Bonn it wasn't just Genscher.

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

now people are asking themselves what the shots and explosions in Tripoli were all about.

Other departments are now trying to estimate the damage done by the American operation. Their main concern, as one insider put it, is to minimise the diplomatic damage done.

In a speech in the Bundestag, Chancellor Kohl warned against bringing about a crisis in the alliance just by talking about it.

The Foreign Office in Bonn, on the other hand, already refers to a crisis of confidence within the alliance.

How important, many will now ask, are America's European allies in Washington if the United States can afford to ignore the warning issued by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community to show restraint?

Isn't that indeed a slap in the face for Europe, as Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans put it?

Why didn't British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe inform his colleagues during his meeting in The Hague about his government's intended support for the USA's military operation against Libya?

Suddenly, it seems, two factions have emerged within the alliance: an Anglo-American one and the rest.

In view of the new situation, how will it be possible to establish the much-needed dialogue between the European Community and Arab countries?

Will the latter be at all willing to talk now that the American attack has forced them to declare their solidarity with the unpopular Libyan regime?

Admittedly, the exact nature of possible suggestions by the European Community on how to solve the Middle East conflict and of initiatives in this field is still not clear.

In this context many diplomats openly admit that the Community has failed. The 14 April Hague declaration ought, they say, to have been made in January.

The USA might then have gained the impression that it had the support of its allies, a fact which might then have forestalled the attack on Libya.

Some observers feel that the European Community was too weak and too indecisive for too long. It should have acted more resolutely, they claim.

Others feel that, although the Community knew that pussyfooting was not the right approach, it was the Italians and Greeks who earlier said no to active support for the USA against the terror emanating from Libya.

Chancellor Kohl said more or less the same thing with the authority of a head of government.

The European process of coordination, he maintained, "is often limited to common complaints about the lack of consultations with the American allies or to mere declarations with no political impact."

Wailing and moaning alone is not enough.

The CSU weekly newspaper *Bayernkurier* criticised the Foreign Office in Bonn for "pussyfooting" and at the same time praised Chancellor Kohl in an effort to create a gap between the two.

There are now fears that the American attack on Libya and its civilian victims may lead to an upsurge in anti-Americanism in the Federal Republic of Germany and other European countries.

This would make the relationship between Europe and the USA more complicated.

Chancellor Kohl is aware of this danger, which explains why he emphatically declared his understanding for the Americans and emphasised that military action should not be used to "step up a primitive anti-Americanism."

There is nevertheless growing concern that one of the consequences of the military attack on Libya will be a transatlantic estrangement.

Finally, there is concern about how Gaddafi will respond to the attack. Will he be impressed by the operation?

A Foreign Office spokesman in Bonn said that there is "enough evidence for his irrational behaviour" and that "it must be feared that his response will be equally irrational." Terrorism, it is claimed, cannot be fought via military action.

In the Bundestag Social Democrat Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, an Opposition expert on Arab affairs, referred to the new hatred and threats the attack will trigger.

Chancellor Kohl also seemed to share this concern as he underlined that all precautions have been taken to guarantee the safety of the German population and foreigners living in Germany.

The precautionary measures taken in Bonn and elsewhere in the Federal Republic reveal both how determined and how worried the government is in this respect.

Dietrich Möller

(Der Tagespiegel, Berlin, 17 April 1986)

■ BERLIN

Allies order clamp-down on terrorist suspects after disco bomb raid

America, Britain and France have ordered a clamp-down on terrorist suspects in the Western sectors of Berlin after the bomb raid on a discotheque in the US sector for which the Americans blame Libyan terrorists.

"With immediate effect," the Allies tersely and unambiguously announced, "the West Berlin authorities are requested to expel from the Western sectors persons identified as a threat to the people of Berlin."

These instructions to the Senate and police by the commanding officers of the US, British and French garrisons in the divided city were contained in a "Berlin Kommandatur Letter."

The Allies retain overall authority in Berlin by virtue of their status as occupying powers.

Their instructions to the civilian authorities were in response to the bomb raid on the La Belle discotheque that killed two and injured over 200 people.

The Americans say the raid was the handiwork of Libyan terrorists and aimed at the Americans in Berlin.

The civilian investigating authorities are less sure. A spokesman for the Berlin *Staatschutz* says there are no specific pointers to Libyans having been responsible.

The bloodbath at the La Belle was not the first terrorist raid in Berlin but it has been the most devastating yet.

The Western Allies were forced to act



because terrorists from East Berlin are free to come and go, there being no restrictions on entry to West Berlin.

The Berlin Wall enables the GDR to pick and choose who crosses the East-West border. So does the subway system which, unlike Checkpoint Charlie, the West cannot effectively keep tabs on.

Border checks are problematic for the West. The Western Allies insist on the Four-Power status of Greater Berlin and on freedom of movement between East and West.

The Eastern view is that Allied status applies only to the US, British and French sectors. As for freedom of movement, the Berlin Wall testifies to Eastern views on the subject.

The Western Allies, anxious not to jeopardise freedom of movement in theory, stress that their latest instructions are "extraordinary and provisional" and not intended to affect the "principle of freedom of movement in Berlin."

This is a point on which the Allies are extremely sensitive. In 1950 they threatened to arrest the mayor of Kreuzberg when he went it alone and closed his borough's border with East Berlin for six hours.

In 1981 they nipped in the bud any ideas former Interior Senator Heinrich Lummer may have had of border checks to stem the tide of Third World applicants for political asylum via East Berlin.

The situation has now changed. The security of the city and the Allied forces that guarantee its freedom is now at stake.

Allied and Senate authorities are not saying what checks are planned. They would clearly be far less effective if known in advance.

So time will tell what shape they take. All that can be said at the time of writing is that public opinion in the city fully accepts the need for security measures.

Checks have been intensified at border crossing points, especially checks of foreign nationals. Suspicious vehicles or individuals are stopped and checked.

A blanket ban on Libyan diplomats from the Libyan people's bureau near the Ministry of State Security in East Berlin was expected but has not been confirmed by the Allied Kommandatura.

The Americans are known to have been keen on a ban, but the French seem to have vetoed the idea.

But cars with Libyan CD-plates have already been tailed by the police in West Berlin on several occasions after passing through Checkpoint Charlie.

Checks at Checkpoint Charlie and other official crossing points are no problem. The problem is the three subway lines (two S-Bahn and one U-Bahn) that cross East Berlin and stop at Friedrichstrasse station.

They are a virtually round-the-clock loop. About 540 trains a day stop at Friedrichstrasse in the East before returning to West Berlin where passengers can leave them (and give the police the slip) at any one of 49 stations.

A foolproof check of everyone who may have boarded trains at Friedrichstrasse is virtually impossible and not intended.

But the Allies are said to have instructed the police in West Berlin to keep an eye open for suspects.

Another reason why the authorities are exercising caution in connection with indispensable security measures is GDR leader Erich Honecker's reaction to the discotheque bombing.

He expressed regret, condemned the bloodshed and welcomed security checks even before their exact nature had been decided on. Such spontaneity generates mistrust.

The East claims there are three German states: the Federal Republic, the GDR and the "special entity" of Berlin (West).

This theory would be reinforced if West Berlin were to introduce checks that could be interpreted as upgrading the status of the border between the Eastern and Western sectors of the city.

The West has no plans to do anything of the kind. The GDR, in contrast, could readily make an effective contribution toward fighting international terrorism.

It would need only to stem the tide of asylum-seekers (7,000 so far this year) and terrorist suspects to West Berlin.

This is something the GDR could do with ease, the system of controls on the Eastern side of the Wall being well-nigh perfect.

Dieter Dose

(Die Welt, Bonn, 14 April 1986)

US presence in divided city

The US military presence in Berlin began on 4 July 1945 when the Second Armoured Infantry Division marched into the Four-Power city. US forces have been stationed in Berlin ever since.

The US presence immediately assumed the crucial importance it occupies today in the transition in status to occupying to protecting power.

Its purpose today is to show that and demonstrate to potential adversaries US determination to guarantee freedom of West Berlin.

The US Brigade consists of 6,000 service personnel and 6,000 dependents. They live in the barracks, fenced-off residential area and ordinary apartment blocks.

Officers and diplomats live in detached houses in residential suburbs. The US mission, manned by about 60 diplomats, is the successor to the US military government.

It and its British and French counterparts exercise ultimate control over the Senate, or civilian administration, via the Allied Kommandatura, which supervises Four-Power rights and responsibilities for Berlin as a whole.

Over the decades US forces have developed a comprehensive infrastructure. Olive green buses ply between residential and shopping areas and barracks.

The PX is at the Truman Plaza at Clayallee, a group of squat buildings round a large parking lot that is constantly patrolled by German guards.

US services at the Truman Plaza range from a laundrette, book and bookshop to a supermarket and a service restaurant and cater for all everyday needs.

AFN, the American Forces Network, has established a legendary reputation with its round-the-clock music programmes in stereo.

But very few Berliners can tune in to US Forces TV, which has been broadcast in colour over a strictly limited area since 1978.

In collaboration with American universities the Education Branch offers a wide range of academic and career-oriented courses leading to the appropriate qualifications.

The German-American John F. Kennedy School enjoys an outstanding reputation in the city. Its staff of US and German teachers teach students bilaterally to high school standard in 12 to 14 subjects, or German university entrance qualifications, in 13 years.

The few advantages US servicemen in Berlin have over their counterparts in the Federal Republic include cut-price phone calls home.

Every battalion and independent company has its own "phone" which can be used outside service hours, weekends and on holidays.

Joint US-German police patrols are another special feature for US forces in Europe. Thirty Berlin police officers have accompanied US military police patrols for years.

Their services are invaluable where language problems arise between Americans and Germans, which is mainly the case in traffic accidents.

Besides, as the local patrolmen sometimes know their way around the British and French sectors better than the US military police, they often know shortcuts that come in handy.

Claus Hübner

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 7 April 1986)

■ HISTORY

500 tons of Nazi records kept at former Gestapo phone-tapping centre in Berlin

The discreetly named Document Centre in Zehlendorf, Berlin, is in one of the city's highest-class residential suburbs.

It is surrounded by pine woods and villas and is not far from Schlachtensee and Krumme Lanke, lakes which are popular with joggers and ramblers alike.

The houses on Wasserkäferstieg are only one storey high, but there are two more storeys with a maze-like bunker system of corridors, stairs and large, steel-bolted rooms below ground level.

The steel doors conceal almost 30 million files and cards and hundreds of millions of individual sheets of historical records of the Third Reich.

The documents have been accurately filed in miles and miles of shelves and wooden boxes. Each file has a name, each name once had a number. A flick through each file reveals the life history of persons registered.

In the case of 600,000 of these names the files contain details of the person's respective family history dating back 200 years.

These files were compiled in Nazi Germany as proof of a person's claim to be a member of the master race.

The millions of files at the Document Centre contain comprehensive information on the history of the German Reich between 1933 and 1945.

They represent a meticulous documentation of the fathers and grandfathers of post-war Germans.

Our "guide" through this depressing

'I and my wife prefer to die — Adolf Hitler, 29 April 1945'

labyrinth suddenly stopped and pulled out and opened up one of the files.

The handwritten document he showed us marks the end of German megalomania. The following can be read beneath the part headed "Will":

"I myself and my spouse have chosen to die rather than suffer the ignominy of deposition or capitulation. It is our last will to be burnt at the place where I spent most of my working life during the twelve years I served my people. Written on 29 April, 1945, a.m. — Adolf Hitler."

During the days which followed the "Third Reich" collapsed once and for all. The advancing troops of the 7th US Army discovered the last will of a German in a paper mill in Munich.

The documents contained file-cards bearing the names of 10.7 million members of the Nazi Party.

Allied troops also came across other files and documents in offices, administrative buildings and hideouts in other parts of Germany.

All these documents provided an insight into the personnel organisation structure in Nazi Germany.

An almost complete personnel archive on the hierarchy in Hitler's Germany came to light (about 400 tons of material).

All this material was then collected, examined and filed away at the Document Centre in Berlin-Zehlendorf. In a building which was once the telephone tapping head office of the Nazis' secret



state police, the Gestapo. The harmless-looking Document Centre is closely guarded and surrounded by barbed wire. It is run by the US State Department in Washington.

In no other archive in the world is there such a comprehensive documentation of a system of terror and of the organisation of one of the most atrocious crimes in the history of mankind.

When Daniel Simon, the American who has been in charge of the Centre since the mid-1970s, talks about the archive's facts and figures he almost sounds as rational as a business manager talking about his company's product range.

However, Simon's facts and figures are only impressive in a macabre kind of way.

Together with the almost entire central files of the Nazi Party the Centre contains the personal files of over half a million members of the SS, from the *Untersturmführer* to the rank of officer, discovered by US troops in the Harz and Tirol regions.

Each of these files also records details of the family trees of the female partners of these SS men.

In addition, there are half a million SA files, with personnel questionnaires and details of disciplinary procedures, as well as 115,000 — probably 10 per cent — of the documents of the district and *gau* courts, the senior Nazi party court and the Volksgerichtshof, together with the personal files of their judges.

Also recorded are 40,000 names (roughly 80 per cent) of the Reich doctors' registry, files on Nazi teachers, lecturers and technicians and about 2.5 million documents from the Immigration and Resettlement Head Office.

Then come half a million files from the Reich Chamber of Culture and information and correspondence from the Nazi Party headquarters and the Reich Chancellery.

The "Himmeler files" from the SS headquarters and the personal files of leading Nazis such as Goebbels, Göring, Streicher and Ribbentrop are among the most important documents at the Centre.

A staff of 39 — 38 Germans and an African from the Ivory Coast — help Daniel Simon to run the archive.

Some of these historians and archivists have worked at the Centre since it was first set up in 1946. They have evaluated and prepared material for war crime trials, denazification cases, inquiries and applications for assistance in criminal investigations throughout the world.

Whenever and wherever an alleged former Nazi or member of the SS is found there's more work for the Document Centre.

According to Simon, between 3,000 and 4,000 inquiries are made at the Centre each month; most of them relating to questions concerning the pension rights and citizenship problems of migrants.

The atmosphere in the endless corridors of endless shelves of files is impersonal.

The Centre's friendly members of "staff" can be seen buried in their documents or filling out forms.

However, the past comes to life again as soon as Daniel Simon or one of his colleagues opens up one of the files.

For example, the Assessment of SS *Hauptsturmführer* Dr. Josef Mengele, who for many years was wanted for having murdered about 2,000 people and been an accessory to the murder of 200,000 people in his capacity as camp doctor at Auschwitz.

A dental diagram provided by the Document Centre last year enabled the identification of Mengele's corpse in South America.

"Dr M.", so the wording of the file on one of the most cruel of the Nazi regime's doctors, "has an open, honest and steadfast character. He is absolutely reliable, upright and upstanding."

"With judiciousness, perseverance and energy he has mastered all the tasks set him to the full satisfaction of his superiors and often under the most difficult of circumstances."

"He has been able to cope with every situation. He is popular and respected everywhere as an SS doctor."

Mengele corresponded almost exactly to the Nazi ideal of a "good and respectable German," of men who resemble one another to a remarkable extent in the files of the Race and Settlement Head Office, whether they're culled Mengele or Adolf Eichmann.

According to Eichmann's file, he was "racially Nordic-Dinaric, self-confident, correct and unblemished" as well as "comradely and ambitious."

His "intellectual freshness, willpower and personal stability," the file continues, were "pronounced," and his "attitude to the National Socialist view of the world unquestioning."

Any SS man who wanted to get married had to make an application at his head office, provide proof of Aryan descent dating back 200 years, bring along personality assessments by third parties, and answer a tremendous number of personal questions.

As regards his fiancée, the decisive factors were whether she was "fond of children," "home-loving, fickle, excessively

'SS bride-to-be must be home-loving and fond of children'

ively fond of dressing up," "thrifty or extravagant," and "suitable to be the wife of a member of the SS."

Finally, both the SS man and his bride-to-be had to undergo medical examinations, in which a very close look was taken at the shape of their skulls ("medium-length, round"), "cheekbones" ("well-rounded, barrel-shaped, flat and sunken"), stomachs ("firm, fat, flabby"), skin colour ("pink-white, ivory-coloured, olive-brown"), the colour of their hair and eyes, and every possible part of their bodies to ensure that they matched the Aryan ideal and to determine whether "reproduction in the national sense is desirable."

These questions and questionnaires indicate how mercilessly the state bureaucracy supported a system which was infused from above with National Socialist ideology.

The 30 million files in the Document Centre show how easy it was to make people conform to the norms of a criminal regime and make sure that nobody slipped out of line.

Those who refused to conform soon found themselves on a kind of black list, which is also filed away in the Document Centre.

These non-conformists were then excluded from the SA militia because of "time-serving," "playing billiards with Jews who in uniform" or "giving rabble-rousing and inflammatory speeches."

Many of those who tried the line pursued by the regime during the war soon readjusted to the new system after the war.

Many judges, public prosecutors, doctors, teachers and lecturers would certainly prefer to keep the information at the Document Centre under lock and key.

This perhaps explains why the Document Centre is very much a low-profile institution.

"Although the Americans have repeatedly stated that the Centre, which is financed by the Bonn government from the occupation burdens budget anyway, could be taken over by the Federal Archive in Koblenz, the government of the various *Länder* do not appear to be particularly interested in this suggestion."

Although things have been very quiet at the Centre during the past few years, a statement made by the former high commissioner for the American occupation zone, John McCloy, in a TV interview at the beginning of 1978 did cause a stir.

McCloy indicated that he had been forced against his will to allow former Nazis to get off scot-free for reasons of political opportuneness.

Since the Centre has a unique collection

'Many of the people on file are still alive'

of the personal files on Nazi Germany it is clearly sitting on political dynamite.

Many of the people registered there are still alive, says Daniel Simon.

This explains why there is strictly limited access to the Document Centre.

In order to prevent the information from being misused only scientists with a clearly defined research task, university staff and members of government departments are allowed (under supervision) to take a look at the files.

Were the Centre to belong to the Federal Archive in Koblenz it would no longer be subject to the occupation law which applies in Berlin.

This would mean less restrictive access stipulations, for example, for research on the major personalities of contemporary history.

Some of the documents, such as the telegram in the file on the film director and photographer Leni Riefenstahl (now living in Munich) in which she congratulates Hitler on his invasion of France, could then prove embarrassing.

The wording of this telegram is as follows:

"With indescribable joy, deeply moved and in fervent gratitude we experience with you, my Führer, your own and Germany's greatest victory, the arrival of German troops in Paris. Above and beyond all human powers of imagination you are accomplishing feats which are unparalleled in the history of mankind."

Volker Skerka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 April 1986)

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■ AGRICULTURE

Farm policy is criticised but nothing gets done

Stiddeutsche Zeitung

Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) would cost German taxpayers less if the entire system of European Community price guarantees and national subsidies was scrapped and German farmers were paid senior-grade civil service salaries.

Equations of this kind invariably come to mind when the farming lobby joins forces to complain how badly off farmers are.

Both arguments are corroborated by the fact that farmers are only paid 10 pfennigs of every deutschemark in agricultural subsidies, the remainder seeping through countless leaks in the system.

The DM50bn of farm subsidies in the European Community budget is barely half the price consumers and taxpayers pay to help farmers make ends meet.

Retail prices make up the lion's share of subsidies. They are well above world market levels for almost all farm produce.

Yet no matter how much this shortcoming of the CAP may be lamented and reforms may be called for, no Common Market country has any serious intention of ending the system into question.

Some don't want to rock the boat because they net handsome CAP surpluses. Others foot the bill but are reluctant to sever this key link between member-countries and are unenthusiastic about root-and-branch reforms of the set-up.

These others include the Bonn government, which pursues policies that are poles apart from the lip service it pays to CAP reform.

For years Bonn led the field in calling for the consolidation and streamlining of a common market that nonetheless regularly allowed itself the luxury of substantial farm price increases.

Bonn has now taken to applying the brakes whenever the European Commission embarks on slow progress toward reform.

The latest Bonn Cabinet decisions on "realignment" of CAP and national flanking support measures in welfare and structural policy are a further milestone toward making German farm policy totally incredible in the European Community.

This year the European Commission in Brussels expects there to be a substantial supplementary budget. The European Community budget is gradually assuming nightmare proportions for the Bonn Finance Minister.

About 70 per cent goes toward the cost of maintaining enormous stocks of butter, powdered milk, meat and foodgrain and the further cost of selling farm surpluses all over the world at throwaway prices.

The latest and most outrageous instance is the sale of surplus butter to the Soviet Union, which is paying 20 pfennigs for the half-pound packet of butter that seldom costs German consumers less than two marks.

Yet the Bonn government has no qualms about voting against farm price cuts in Brussels no matter how modest the proposals may be.

Chancellor Kohl's government may be entitled to claim alleviating circumstances in a pre-election year, but although the January 1987 general election may explain Bonn's inconsistent farm policies they can hardly be said to hold forth any prospect of future improvement.

Continued from page 2

anxiety as cowardice, saying: "The Europeans want to chicken out, leaving it to us Americans to keep the peace."

European governments certainly seem to have underestimated President Reagan's motivation in this context. Besides, Europe lacks leadership. There are hundreds of sessions of ministers and heads of government but there is no joint leadership.

It would probably have been right to recall European companies and their staff from Libya, to close Libyan embassies and to buy no more Libyan oil (especially with more than enough oil available in world markets).

On this basis the Europeans could have brought pressure to bear on Washington.

It still isn't too late to try. European governments that prefer at this stage to

improvement. No government returned next January, be it led by Helmut Kohl or Johannes Rau, will summon the courage to pursue agricultural policies aimed at encouraging essential structural change.

Governments will continue to seek a solution to agricultural hardship in state control, protectionism and subsidies and to "sell" farmers a patent untruth.

Farmers will continue to be told that competition is intended to ensure survival of the fittest in trade and industry, whereas the family farm cannot possibly be called into question.

In other words, agriculture will continue to be protected by the CAP from the chill winds of competition.

The Cabinet's decisions on national support measures included only one point that can be considered at all encouraging.

It was that if extra subsidies were to be paid, they must not be paid to rich and poor farmers alike on the basis of the "watering can" principle.

Welfare or market?

They must be aimed specifically at farmers who benefit least from the blessings of the CAP price support system.

This decision cannot be rated as more than an election campaign manoeuvre. The government has no more intention than ever of drawing a clear dividing line between welfare handouts and rational market policies.

This is most clearly evidenced by dubious promises in connection with

maintain a low profile, perhaps hoping that if lightning strikes it will at least hit someone else, would be abandoning political common sense.

They would be surrendering in advance to future developments with no possibility of bringing the least influence to bear on them.

A cool and level-headed appraisal of the situation and its risks and opportunities is called for — and joint action on this basis.

Common interests such as peace in Europe are, after all, at stake.

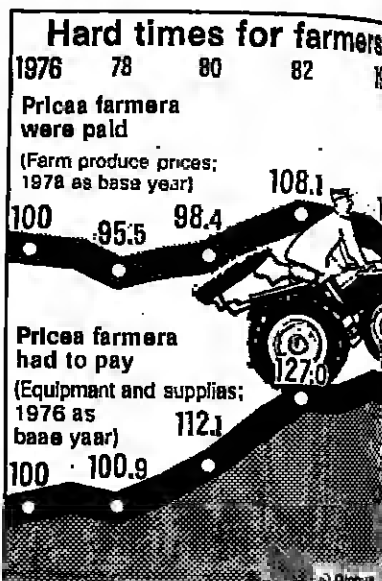
Colonel Gaddafi is a misguided idealist who has long and often resorted to violence in despair at the rejection of his ideals by the rest of the world. President Reagan is a moralist. European governments must be realists.

Helmut Schmidt

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 18 April 1986)

Gerhard Hennemann

(Stiddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 April 1986)



the latest agricultural wonder weapon "renewable raw materials."

German industry is definitely interested in putting domestic farm produce to industrial use, but on world market terms and not at the appalling prices charged by the European Community.

Those who advocate agricultural production of raw materials for industry must make it clear how much they expect farmers to earn. A mere reassignment from food production to growing cash crops for industry will solve no problems.

It is likely to create even more problems in the form of higher subsidies and is certain to lead to trade trouble with other producers, especially in the United States.

The merry-go-round of subsidies would have been given a break if the go-ahead had been given to large-scale production of agricultural alcohol as a mandatory additive for fuels.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stolteberg has fortunately put a stop, at least for the time being, to this idea mooted by Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kieckhefer.

Further encouragement is lent by the fact that this entire gamut of more or less economically absurd ideas could only be carried out by the European Community as a whole.

There would almost certainly be substantial opposition within the Community to farmers as suppliers to the motor fuel industry, especially in classic agricultural countries such as France, Holland and Denmark.

French, Dutch and Danish farmers are unlikely to take kindly to such ideas. But the common agricultural market should still be good for suppliers.

■ FOOD & DRINK

No sure cure for adulteration as Europe stumbles from scandal to scandal

Is there to be no end to food and drink adulteration scandals? Meat was laced with oestrogen, a growth hormone, for years. Kangaroo meat was sold as beef. Some sausages still have a fat content way above the legal limit.

In Spain edible oil was contaminated with toxic diesel oil that cost several hundred people their lives. Eggshell and dirt have been found in egg products.

Wine is constantly adulterated. In Austrian wines first glycol, then a sodium compound was identified. In the Rhineland-Palatinate there are over 2,000 cases in which wine is said to have been adulterated using sugar and water.

In Britain you can buy do-it-yourself winemaking kits and make an artificial wine that contains not a single grape.

Yet European Community guideline 3.17 expressly says that:

"Wine is a product made solely or in part by total or partial alcoholic fermentation of fresh or mashed grapes or grape juice."

Italian wines sold in Europe have recently been found to contain lethal methylated spirits. What initially seemed to be a few sad but isolated cases has assumed the proportions of an international scandal.

Italian wines sold in many European countries have been found to contain a lethal dose of meths, which may well ruin an entire industry.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Adulterated Italian wine has been confiscated wherever it has come to light. But no-one can say for sure that all sources of the killer vino have been identified.

In Italy 320,000 litres of methylated spirits have changed hands, so it is hard to trace what happened to every lot sold, especially as methylated spirits are used in countless products such as paint additives and thinners.

There is a widespread sense of outrage, as widespread as the lovers of Austrian and Italian wines, but outrage is no way of arriving at a solution.

What has happened to veal, egg products, edible oil and wine is not just negligence or a legal loophole; it is organised crime.

Burglaries, car thefts and insurance fraud cannot be eliminated at a stroke of the pen (or by any other means). The same goes for food and drink adulteration.

There is certainly no point in classifying such activities as an integral part of the system and arguing that the free market and competition force entrepreneurs to cut costs to a minimum.

Pressure of costs undeniably obliges

manufacturers to rationalise production methods, but that can hardly be said to justify crime.

Foodstuffs legislation sets government standards that are supposed to protect the consumer. Modern society is also keen to use research findings to protect the public, particularly in the foodstuffs context.

To say adulteration is part of the system is nonsensical inasmuch as European Community wine-growers benefit from massive subsidies as part of the common agricultural market.

Since 1984 the Community has withdrawn no less than 12 million hectolitres of table wine from the market and distilled it into alcohol.

Wine-growers who still feel unable to make ends meet can always cease production and draw a bonus of between DM2,300 and DM24,000 per hectare in return for agreeing not to grow wine for 16 years.

It would be equally wrong to blame the chemical industry for the wine scandal and its lethal consequences because it manufactures and sells toxic substances.

You might just as well ban the sale of pocket knives because they can be used to kill people.

There is nothing to be gained by arguing, despite the ever longer list of Italian wines found to contain methylated spirits, that it must have been some kind of accident or mishap, albeit one with fatal consequences.

The miscreants cannot, it is said, have wanted to kill their customers. True enough. No-one ever does.

Large-scale food and drink adulteration invariably has a self-evident mo-

tive. It is a variety of white-collar crime that, in the final analysis, has lethal consequences.

The Italian wine scandal is a textbook example. The first point to note is that wines from southern Italy have a high alcohol content but are poorly rated for their taste.

To help wine-growers in the south Italian wine legislation specifies that Italian wines must be at least 10° proof.

Highly-rated wines from northern Italy seldom reach this level; so they need an admixture of wine from the south to comply with the regulations.

Eighteen months ago the tax on methylated spirits was abolished, making it cheaper than wine from southern Italy, including haulage costs.

Wine-growers put two and two together and embarked on a life of crime.

Glycol or methylated spirits are not the problem. No-one can be sure that someone, somewhere will not adulterate food or drink with some substance or other.

Stricter checks are not going to eliminate the practice. All they can hope to achieve is to make adulteration more difficult to get away with.

The Italian wine scandal might never have occurred if the wine alcohol content regulation had not been introduced to safeguard wine industry jobs in the Mezzogiorno.

Topping up Austrian wines with antifreeze is another matter, the aim being to improve the taste and market value.

Veal was laced with oestrogen because calves were fed the hormone to grow faster. Eggshell found its way into egg products as part of the bid to ensure maximum utilisation of raw eggs.

In other words, there will be no sure cure to the problem. Moral appeals and threats of punishment have never deterred criminals. In Paris pickpockets are reported to have worked crowds watching pickpockets being publicly executed.

Wolfgang Müller-Haaseler

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

(für Deutschland, 12 April 1986)

Common Market as swim in a sea of surplus wine

European Community wine market regulations have been in force since 1962. They were revised in 1970 and at the end of last year when wine-growers Spain and Portugal joined the Common Market.

Italy, France and Spain account for the lion's share of European Community wine production making up roughly half the world output. They produce much more wine than European consumers would normally drink.

Since the poison wine scandals there have been growing demands for the European Community to take preventive action such as reducing the number of permitted additives. They are specified in European Community legislation enacted in 1979.

Up to five per cent of fresh and healthy vintner's yeast may, for instance, be added to dry wines. The carbon dioxide count of treated wines must not be lower than two grams per litre.

The European commissioner for agriculture, fisheries and food, Frans Andriessen of Holland, says it is nonsense to want to ban wine "treatment" of all kinds. That would jeopardise the survival of many wine-growers.

The European Commission must be notified of measures imposed by member-governments to protect the consumer in connection with recent wine

scandals. The Commission checks them to make sure they are not just non-tariff barriers designed to limit wine imports.

The European Community has a free trade in wine. Trade restraint is only allowed in exceptional circumstances (which fortunately include health precautions).

Wine market regulations include a price guarantee for the producer. The authorities "intervene" to buy surplus wine so as to ensure that the producer is paid at least 82 per cent of the "orientation price."

The European Commission lays down annually how much wine is available in a given financial year. It bases this figure on production and storage reports.

As soon as supply exceeds estimated European Community demand by more than enough stock to last for five or six months, surplus wine is distilled into industrial alcohol.

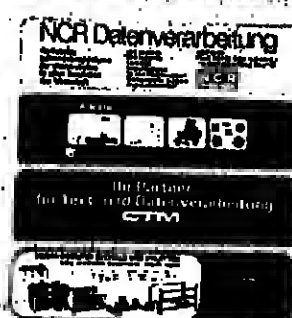
Producers are paid only 50 per cent of the orientation price for table wine that is distilled by order. The price paid can even be as low as 40 per cent.

The Community has also launched a scheme to stop the planting of new vines and to pay wine-growers a bonus for ceasing production.

Hermann Bohle
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 April 1986)

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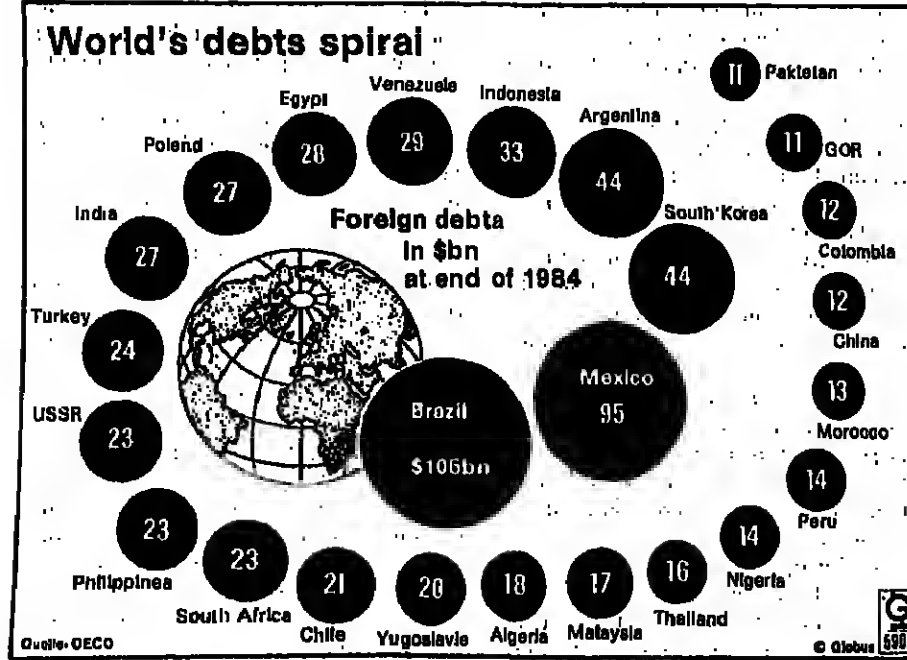
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Behind the scenes there was heated

There is no majority in the IMF membership for a new, major currency conference, let alone far-reaching measures to fix

Furthermore such policies encourage the lower levels of the population to assert themselves more.



Ssd to say, this frequently results in the finished product being brittle. Max Planck scientists in Mainz have found out why.

In a research project subsidised by the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry the Mainz Max Planck science



Ultra-thin coatings produced at the Mainz institute are equally unconventional. They are based on the ability of

If different dyes are used, light can be filtered to polymerise one layer after another.

These coatings could, however, be used as electrochemical sensors or electrooptical units. So polymers have a bright future.

Michael Globig
[Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt]
Bonn, 15 March 1988

The German research vessel *Meteor* has been officially taken into service in Hamburg. It takes over from the old *Metel*, which was sold to New Zealand after 21 years in service.

The *Meteor* has a high-performance fin rudder, a controlled water-jet system to the fore, diesel electric propulsion, a garbage incinerator, central handling and control facilities and so on.

[illegible]

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CINEMA

Rosa Luxemburg, life and death of a revolutionary



Once upon a time there was a German revolution. It was typically organised and regulated. The revolutionaries voted to buy platform tickets to enable them to take the platform by storm. But when they turned up they found that the impetus of the revolutionary masses had beaten them to it by two whole days.

This was how Lenin humorously described German left-wing efforts at revolution after the First World War.

On 9 November 1918 a general strike and armed riots in Berlin gave the Reich, which had just lost the war, a last push.

Karl Liebknecht, leader of the Communist Party, proclaimed a socialist republic from the balcony of the Imperial Palace.

In reply to this, Philipp Scheidemann of the Social Democrats proclaimed a democratic republic in the Reichstag.

The film "November Revolution" describes in a few hours a film one of most troubled chapters in German history and its painful and sometimes bloody confrontations between followers of Soviet Socialist democracy and Social Democracy from which the Social Democrats emerged victorious.

Admittedly, memories of the first Socialist Democratic Republic under Friedrich Ebert and Philipp Scheidemann is to this day blemished by the responsibility for the way in which revolutionary leaders were eliminated.

Revolutionary leaders Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches were murdered by the German army and volunteer corps in a purge ordered by Ebert.

The staging of this arbitrary act remained half explained and unpunished.

The cases of Liebknecht and Luxemburg did actually come to trial. However the two people found guilty were released shortly afterwards and went into hiding.

Once upon a time there was a German revolutionary. She was a Jewess from the Polish city of Zamosc.

She went to Germany because she believed there was imminent hope of revolution taking place there.

She was Rosa Luxemburg, who in January 1919 was beaten shot to death by rifle butts and then shot in the head. She was 47. Her body was dumped in a nearby canal.

Rosa Luxemburg counts for many of the most lively and vivid Marxist planners.

She exemplified the agitational power of radical protest. She was to influence the left-wing movements of the 1960s who carried her picture on placards through the streets of Paris and Berlin.

Unlike Lenin she rejected short-term compromise between violence and revolution. She expected everything from the momentum of revolutionary spontaneity and participation of the masses.

She is for many a Marxist theorist with a human face. She achieved immortality with her thesis that once and for all defined freedom as the right of others to think differently.

Margarethe von Trotta's latest film about the life of Rosa Luxemburg is an attempt to rehabilitate Red or Bloody Rosa, as the incited crowds then called her.

All in all it is an honourable and courageous attempt, particularly when one recalls the public anger Social Democrat Horst Ehmke encountered as Minister of Posts and Telecommunications in 1973 when he tried to issue a commemorative stamp to mark her birth centenary.

The film's inoffensiveness is bound to ensure that tempers remain under control, but this inoffensiveness accounts for the main distortion of the film's subject.

If one attempts to summarise the facts of the film's subject, one is left with a Rosa who is a cross between a Red and a Green, or environmentalist.

She is infatuated with plants and animals and suffers from unfulfilled wishes.

Her lover, Leo Jogiches, refuses to give her a baby and his unreserved love. When he clings to her, she turns to the somewhat younger son of her friend Clara Zetkin.

Frau von Trotta has him killed in the Great War, which actually happened in Hans Diefenbach, his successor.

This is the grossest breach of authenticity of which the script can be accused. Frau von Trotta got her information word for word from a bundle of roughly 2,000 letters, most written during imprisonment in different prisons.

Many of them belong to the pearls of German correspondence literature. They attest to Rosa Luxemburg's much-praised vivid, graphic and gripping style.

They reveal her cursed lust to be happy, her passionate explosive temperament that was fiery enough to set a prairie ablaze.

A group of old men are shown in the film to be the chief victims of this temperament.

Among them one can recognise the leadership of the left wing of the SPD, including August Bebel and Karl Kautsky. They are shown receiving a tickling-off from Rosa.

Many film directors wonder whether the cinema can survive the challenge of satellite television and videos and make it into the next century.

Polish director Jerzy Kawalerowicz, in Selt, Bavaria, for a season of his films, sounded pessimistic, especially as his work is not at all suited to TV.

He sees a danger in the increasing tendency of directors to keep television in mind when they are shooting films.

The Selt film festival is itself threatened by the crisis in the cinema industry. It can boast annual increases in attendance figures but the town looks like having no cinema next year.

The cinema network that runs the local picture houses wants to close down.

The festival, which moved from neighbouring Wunsiedel to Selt six years ago, will have to find a new home again.

The hard-working mayor of Selt, which is best known as the home of Rosenthal china, has shown himself to be an enthusiastic cinemagoer during the festival.



Barbara Sukowa as Rosa Luxemburg and Otto Sander as Karl Liebknecht in Margarethe von Trotta's film. (Photo: Concord-Film)

The film is characterised by a concerned reverential honesty. But at the same time it suffers from a stiff frightened lack of inspiration.

When Rosa newly arrives in Berlin she is ironically surprised at the thoroughly bourgeois disposition of the SPD.

It came as a surprise to her for example that the wife of the great Karl Kautsky should be wearing an apron.

The film made out of this an involved welcoming scene in which Liebknecht and Rosa exchange niceties while putting on and taking off their aprons.

A turn-of-the-century New Year's Eve ball sets the scene for a reception of the Second International whose delegates look ridiculous with their tie-outs and their swollen noses.

One is made to realise that Rosa must have had strong negative feelings towards a certain Eduard Bernstein, (a leading revisionist) with whom she continually refuses to dance.

The entire scene is neither revealingly nor ironically overdrawn as was the case in a production a few years ago in Genoa by the Teatro Stabile. It serves as an example of the insecure putting together of the individual scenes.

The film is inadequate as a politico-historical portrait, not so much because it assumes a detailed background knowledge, but more because its all too human, harmless portrait of Rosa is only a semi-portrait, a mere shadow

against an extensive dark background. Margarethe von Trotta's insistence on sentimental appreciation often reveals itself as incapable of portraying the politician.

Speech scenes showing the effect of the orator's magnetic charisma are the nadir of the film.

A surprising point in the film's favour is Barbara Sukowa. She plays a slender blonde Rosa, the physical opposite of what she actually looked like.

Now and then she shows the strain of having to project herself into the role of a larger-than-life personality.

She tended to limp too much, something which the ladylike Rosa allegedly displayed quite well. The speeches were unconvincing and came across as empty rhetoric.

On the other hand she possesses something of greater relevance. As an actress she has an open, intellectual persona, and how many actresses can claim to have that?

Otto Sander as Liebknecht delivered one of his sharply outlined vignettes. Jan Paul, Biczyski gave stature to his performance of Bebel. The rest of the cast were of second rank and that includes Daniel Olbrychski as Jogiches.

Margarethe von Trotta deserves credit for Rosa Luxemburg being talked about again and perhaps here and there she is being read again.

European publishing houses have reasonably priced copies of her work in print. (Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 April 1986)

Small-town film festival meets demand

lival and regrets, the closure considerably. The town, population 22,000, has managed to support the film festival with an attendance of more than 4,000 people.

The rural population has enthusiastically followed the often difficult films, putting up with the difficult messages of the directors and being alert at the ensuing discussions.

Film directors are nearly always enthusiastic about such small festivals.

Directors like the closeness of contact and the unpretentiousness of the conversations with the public.

Such are the advantages of small festivals and they prove, despite fears to

the contrary, that the cinema still has a chance.

This year about 50 films from eight countries were shown in four programmes with several films being video repeats.

Directors featured included some well-known names such as Jürgen Böttcher from the GDR, Andrzej Zulawski from Poland, and Andrzej Wajda from Poland.

Polish films were the focal point of the programme. In addition the Yugoslavian black comedy "Life is Beautiful" and the West German contribution "Le toucher" by Dieter Funk and Bear Taz went down well.

The advantage of small festivals is that the films are seen in a natural and spoken about in a natural, spontaneous and naive atmosphere.

The demand is not for the known sensational films, but for interesting and convincing about cinema thusiasm for the cinema.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 13 April)

THE ARTS

International Shakespeare buffs meet in Berlin



The International Shakespeare Association held its third congress in West Berlin (congresses are organised every five years).

The week-long conference, meeting at the Technical University to discuss the Swan of Avon, was given the vague slogan "Images of Shakespeare."

Apart from the professional Shakespeare experts there were many others interested in the lectures, seminars, films, exhibitions and theatrical productions provided by the event.

The eye-catcher in the university foyer was a display of costumes from the stock of the Royal Shakespeare Company. The costumes were from famous productions of the 25-year-old company.

Music composed by Mendelssohn (*Midsummer Night's Dream*) and Prokofiev (*Romeo and Juliet*) was played.

There were recordings of various productions in various languages, even in Zulu, clashing with one another and with recorded applause from past audiences and orders from stage managers.

The number of themes at the Berlin conference indicated impressively how intensive worldwide interest in Shakespeare's works is.

Much more was seemed terribly remote to the outsiders at the conference; for instance the opening lecture by Samuel Schoenbaum, a portrait of Shakespeare that was very academic and not particularly revealing.

Nevertheless there was no ivory tower atmosphere at the conference. Experts from the English-speaking world showed once more that popularising serious academic matters does not necessarily lead to a lack of seriousness.

The Bochum expert Peter Wenzel gave a clever lecture on the problem of translating Shakespeare. He called for theatrical and ordinary reader translations of the plays.

This is a good suggestion for the syntax of the famous Schlegel-Tieck German translations is not always easy on the ear.

About 25 per cent of Shakespeare productions in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland rely on the early 19th century German Romantic translations.

A further 25 per cent are versions of the plays that are more or less unaltered translations of the original.

The remainder use modern translations such as those by Hans Rothe, Erich Fried, B.K. Tragelehn and Frank Günther, whose translations have been very successful in the past few years.

Lawrence McNamara of the East Texas State University quoted George Bernard Shaw in his lecture on the Secret of Shakespeare's Popularity in Germany: "Shaw regretted that two English men always, losing the real Shakespeare whilst his translators can always adapt him."

The "Secret" in the title of his lecture, he explained, is that Shakespeare is regarded in Germany as a poet, whilst in America he is regarded as a playwright.

to be read and in Britain he is seen mainly as a teacher and philosopher.

Wilhelm Hortmann, an English literature expert from Duisburg, said that 1986 would be the year in which German theatres battled with Hamlet. More theatres in this country than ever before have announced new productions of this play for the coming season.

Hortmann reviewed Hamlet productions over the past 20 years. This character was used as only a few could be used for the "new" theatre of the 1960s and 1970s.

Heyme, Zadek and Tabori regarded him as an example of the social and political change of 1968, but, according to Hortmann, the pendulum is now moving in the opposite direction.

The latest productions in Vienna and Düsseldorf were evidence of this. The critics said of these productions that they were "fresh start" productions and "a feast for the eyes."

It was a pleasure to hear that the immortal bard is just as much loved in Japan and China as in Berlin.

He was first known in China through Charles Lamb's prose versions of the plays. The first translation of Shakespeare into Chinese appeared in Shanghai in 1929.

Shakespeare was a good story-teller. His works are based on tales and legends which are the Chinese criteria for "a good literary work," so they are easy to perform.

There is also no dividing line in Shakespeare between tragedy and comedy, a quality that Chinese theatre shares.

Japanese English-language expert

Newspaper readers were recently invited by two south-west German newspapers to take part in a survey on the topic: "What do you think of contemporary German?"

The aim of the survey was to find out what Germans thought of their own language, what value they gave to it and how they felt about the way it was used.

The German Language Institute, Mannheim, drew up the questions.

It and the Society for the German Language in Wiesbaden are the sole institutions in the Federal Republic officially charged with keeping a watchful eye on the language.

Actually in keeping with its humble name, the institute is not very busy.

Director Gerhard Stiekel announced the results of the survey at the institute's annual conference in Mannheim.

He was not expecting reassuring news but he was shocked by what the survey revealed.

He said: "After this survey, we must consider whether we ought to be taking a fresh look at our activities."

Until now the institute has made a point of merely analysing and documenting: current, spoken and written German rather than trying to lay down the law.

Many Germans feel the language is in a bad way and is changing, or has changed, for the worse, the questionnaire began.

Tsetsuo Kishi from Kyoto drew interesting parallels between Shakespeare and the Japanese Kabuki theatre.

There is, however, a great gap between the two. The traditional Japanese theatrical art of the Kabuki is highly stylised whilst Shakespeare's works are more "naturalistic."

It would, indeed, be most interesting to see a Japanese *Macbeth*, not from film-maker Akira Kurasawa but a stage production.

On the fringe of the conference there was an art exhibition in which 45 artists, living in Berlin, took part.

Associations from Shakespeare's oeuvre were placed side by side in a most interesting manner.

Some of the themes most favoured were *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, followed closely by *Hamlet*. Helmut Miedendorf produced a most curious interpretation of the Prince of Denmark with his German Double-Hamlet, interesting at first glance, that is.

A black figure juggles with two skulls.

The DM10,000 prize offered by the German Shakespeare Society went to the 34-year-old Salomé for his "The Hangman and his Victim."

Berlin and Shakespeare bring to mind the fabulous production of *King Lear* at the Schaubühne. This production had unfortunately been dropped from the repertoire before the conference began — a regrettable oversight.

One participant said: "We were at the Shakespeare Congress in West Berlin, but we had to go to East Berlin to see some Shakespeare."

The Berliner Ensemble and the Deutsches Theater, both in the eastern part of the divided city, put on *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Troilus and Cressida*.

One good thing came out of the conference. In front of hundreds of witnesses promises were made that a square would be named Shakespeare-Platz in front of the opera house.

Rainer Nolden

(Die Welt, Bonn, 7 April 1986)

German language going to the dogs, many feel

"Others feel it has developed in tune with changing times and demands people make on it. What do you think?"

It was the answer to this question that came as a considerable surprise to Gerhard Stiekel.

Of those taking part in the survey, 83.7 per cent were of the view that the German language was developing badly and rapidly going into decline.

Only 12.5 per cent of those who sent in answers were not worried about it. Language experts had classified what, in their opinion, particularly harmed current German. They were surprised how many of the took participants shared these criticisms.

Of those who took part 94.1 per cent found that rules of grammar were neglected, 89.2 per cent were scandalised at specialist jargon, 88.6 per cent regarded the language used by young people as butchering it, 85.4 per cent deplored the decline of good manners in language and 77.7 per cent said that the use of too many foreign words was responsible for its decline.

Only 22 per cent of those who returned the questionnaire saw positive

Shakespeare German-style

The Shakespeare Society, founded in Weimar in 1864, is the oldest literary society in Germany. Goethe was not honoured in this way until 1886.

The aim of the Shakespeare Society is to make the poet's works more widely known, promote research into his life and work and further a knowledge and understanding of the English language.

Since 1865 a yearbook has been published and an annual academic conference organised.

There are now Shakespeare societies in 22 countries; one of the youngest is the Japanese society, founded in 1961.

The International Shakespeare Association has been operating from

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Stratford-upon-Avon, where the poet was born, since 1975. It recently held its third international conference in West Berlin.

The German Society has split up since 1963. There is one society in Weimar, GDR, and another in Bochum in the Ruhr.

This harks back to a cycle of Shakespeare productions directed by Saladin Schmitt between 1927 and 1937 that raised the Bochum playhouse up to being one of the leading theatres in the country.

Werner Habicht is president of the West German Society, which has a membership of about 1,900.

Sir John Gielgud is president of the International Association.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 April 1986)

developments in changes in the language. They regarded new language forms as useful. They took the view that they helped people to express themselves better.

Stiekel pacified alarm caused by the survey by saying that "a decline of language" had always been feared, in Germany as in other countries.

The survey could not be regarded as a scientific poll since it was limited to the 670 readers of the two newspapers who were interested enough to take part.

Stiekel himself believes that a good 80 per cent of the population would not be particularly interested in the language question.

Furthermore, there was a considerable difference in the opinions expressed by the young and the old who participated. The older people in the main took the line that the language was in decline.

According to Stiekel the institute will make no concessions on decisive points. Even though 82.3 per cent felt it ought to exert greater influence on language teaching in schools, on individual people and groups and even the language as a whole, the institute had no intention of doing more than noting language trends.

It was not its rôle to draw up language standards, as the Académie Française was entrusted with doing.

If more was required, people must write to their MPs, Stiekel said.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 March 1986)

■ MEDICINE

Tübingen biofeedback techniques may help patients to reduce drug intake

Motorists waiting at a red light, sprinters in their starting blocks and musicians waiting for the conductor to raise his baton are all waiting for something specific to happen.

For these few seconds during which they await a signal for action their powers of attention and concentration peak and the entire body is poised for action.

Tübingen University scientists led by Nils Birbaumer are using the biofeedback technique in a bid to exert deliberate influence on what goes on in the brain during this phase.

Biofeedback is based on the general experience that every learning process must be accompanied by the experience of success.

From this it is said to follow that we can influence unconscious processes, such as heart rate, temperature and brain functions, provided we experience them.

This can be ensured by means of measuring equipment. So computers can be used to enable us to embark on a dialogue with our busy functions.

There was a biofeedback boom in the mid-1970s when it was realised that unconscious processes could be influenced by individual will power if only they were made known to the individual.

Scientific proof of this point did little more than confirm what had long been suspected in connection with autogenic

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training and similar meditative and auto-suggestion techniques.

But the boom slumped when expectations of biofeedback proving a cure-all for all conceivable mental and physical ills were seen to be mistaken.

The technical outlay is usually out of all proportion to the therapeutic gain. The efficacy of biofeedback training is particularly doubtful in psychosomatic complaints.

Successes have in contrast been registered in neuro-muscular rehabilitation. People suffering from uncontrollable muscle tension as a result of injuries to certain parts of the brain have been able to influence them for the better by means of biofeedback.

A critical overview of therapeutic possibilities complete with case histories is given in *Biofeedbacktherapie*, written by B. Kröner and R. Sachse and published in Stuttgart in 1981.

The Tübingen research scientists are concentrating on the psycho-physiological possibilities of biofeedback.

Healthy volunteers are hooked up by electrodes to machinery that measures the various body processes.

They take readings ranging from eye

movements to changes in skin temperature. The human guinea pig is then told to steer a missile that appears on a monitor screen.

When a high-pitched noise is heard the missile must be steered toward the top of the screen and vice-versa.

A direct hit counts one point and each point is worth DM1. Sounds are heard at irregular intervals. The volunteer has no idea that his missile's trajectory is guided solely by changes in tension in the brain.

None of the volunteers had the slightest idea that fluctuations in brain tension was the sole cause of missile movements.

None of them were able to explain how they moved the missile on the screen. Exerting mental influence seems to rule out putting it into words.

The change in the brain that determines the path of the missile takes the form of a slow shift in reaction potential.

Alternating current normally flows in the brain and can be measured by an electroencephalogram. But a direct current the potential of which changes in response to stimuli is superimposed on this alternating current.

A typical feature of a heightened attention situation such as the motorist waiting for the traffic lights to turn from red to green is a slow shift in potential toward the negative.

Volunteers were found to activate substantial sectors of the brain to regulate their powers of attention.

The Tübingen experiments also seem to confirm that increasing negativation of potential heightens the brain's readiness to process and relay information.

The brain briefs nerve cells next in line for activation to be on standby, as it were.

As soon as the situation awaited has occurred (the lights have switched to green, for instance) electric current in the brain reverts to normal tension.

As an immediate consequence of bio-

feedback training the Tübingen psychologists report a general improvement in cognitive performance and perception potential.

The best learners are those who rely on auto-suggestion and thought while relaxing physically to the best of their ability. The more effectively the brain is shielded from external stimuli, the better it seems to function.

Brigitte Rostocker, a colleague of Birbaumer's, says these findings are best suited to prove of practical value in treating epileptics.

They could learn to control the electrical activity in the brain that precedes epileptic attacks and so reduce their frequency.

Before an attack action potential shifts in much the same way as it does in heightened-attention situations.

To look at, the patient would seem to be extremely quiet, but his brain is already preparing for the extreme situation that lies ahead: the epileptic fit.

Initial experiments aimed at shifting action potential by means of biofeedback seem most promising.

The Tübingen experimental findings might also help us to gain a clear idea of certain forms of schizophrenia. They could possibly be due to a disorganisation of attention in the form of drastic changes in electric potential in the brain that patients cannot bring under control.

These changes seem to result in the brain no longer being able to distinguish between important and unimportant items of information and responding equally to all internal or external stimuli.

The withdrawal to an inner world that is typical of the course schizophrenia takes could arguably be a protective measure to ward off the inundation of external stimuli.

Studying the potential of the human brain is a fascinating subject, but control, even self-control, gives rise to alarming possibilities.

Birbaumer says there must be a frank and open debate to reduce the possibility of abuse to a minimum.

But he feels the possibility of patients being able to influence themselves and their complaints and reduce their intake of drugs that affect the mind outweigh the risk of abuse.

Sabrina Rachlé

(Städteutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 April 1986)

Voices 'run in the family,' anthropologist says

Voices are hereditary, says a Gießen anthropologist. His findings tally with something most people will have experienced at first hand.

You phone someone and are convinced the person at the other end is the one you wanted to speak with. But it isn't. It's his brother (or her sister).

Close relatives often have voices so similar as to be mistaken for each other.

Experts have long known that the sound of a voice is influenced by ectosemantic information, meaning factors other than the meaning of the words.

These distinctions are extremely individual and can depend on the speaker's nationality, dialect and social background.

Speech is an important factor in the psychology of expression and perception. But one voice would seldom be mistaken for another were it not for the characteristic timbre, or quality of a sound (as opposed to its pitch or loudness).

So it is hardly surprising to learn that the police are keen to typify speech and voices. Anthropologists have now taken a closer look at them too.

Anthropologists used to concentrate on body or bone measurements, or blood ratings and physiological features.

Voice analysis now seems likely to become standard practice as an anthropological research technique.

Burkhard Jacobshagen of Gießen University department of anthropology says individual timbre is largely hereditary, depending on hereditary measurements of mouth, nose and throat.

He measures them indirectly by acoustical means. The average sound of a person's voice can be measured in terms of what is known as a long-term spectrum and disregarding speech peculiarities.

The bandwidth of sound variations is first measured to ascertain the margin.

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■ EDUCATION

University degree courses for senior citizens are a great success

Some old-age pensioners complain of having nothing to do and feeling superfluous. Others don't. They have decided to try their hand at something new and enrolled at university for a degree course as "mature students" by any standards.

There was a time when grey-haired students at Dortmund University refectory were asked by doubtful staff whether they were still students (and entitled to a cut-price canteen meal). Not any more.

Senior students (by age if not by merit) take their place in meal queues as a matter of course and are unquestioningly accepted as bona fide members of the student body.

Friedrich Kalisch, 67, recalls with a grin the first time he met young students in Dortmund.

He asked a woman student where a certain lecture theatre was, only to be asked: "Why do you want to know, granddad?"

She didn't mean it as an insult, he says. It was just a reflection of the general amazement when young and old met at university.

That was four years ago when enrolment for senior students without formal university entrance qualifications was still in its early, experimental days.

Today the 117 students of social ger-

ontology and geragogy (no less) are accepted as a regular feature of university life in the Ruhr city.

Kalisch has completed his degree course and now works as a student counsellor. Students young and old, he says, attend lectures in sociology, psychology, education and gerontology as part of the social geragogy course.

The word (in case you wondered) means the study of health and education for the old.

An old people's association, the *Altenakademie Dortmund*, had the idea for the course in 1980, drafting plans in conjunction with the university and persuading the Bonn and Düsseldorf Education Ministries to sponsor the scheme.

The test phase, officially termed the "development and testing of a study course for senior citizens to train animators and multipliers," ended in April last year, since when the course has been a regular feature of the university curriculum.

Over 250 old people, mostly women, have studied at Dortmund over the past five years; 183 have gone on to graduate.

For many it was an opportunity to make an idea they had been keen on since their youth come true.

Interest is so keen that a ban on new admissions has had to be imposed for the forthcoming semester.

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sues. The aim is to throw open all disciplines to senior students and link the generations in a combined course of study.

But senior students cannot take degrees as they can in Dortmund and don't qualify for post-retirement work.

The Federal Education and Science Ministry in Bonn hopes the Dortmund and Marburg projects will be emulated at other universities.

Further education is seen as an effective means of helping old people to maintain an active role in life.

But courses can only be offered if the demand exists at the university. In question, Ministry officials say. Some universities lay on lectures and extra-curricular, non-degree courses as a special incentive to trigger interest on the part of old people.

At other universities senior citizens keen to study must enrol as full-time students and take up places badly needed by a high birth-rate generation of young people keen to study too.

The desire for further education at university is definitely on the increase. Interested parties are increasingly joining forces, setting up pep groups like the *Altenakademie* in Dortmund and arranging for courses to be held at their local university.

Some encounter stiff resistance from universities worried their privileges might be in jeopardy and fearing that academic standards might suffer.

In Bielefeld, for instance, the *Senior-enakademie* has been granted official recognition but receives no financial backing and is not allowed to use university lecture theatres. Similar difficulties are reported in Trier.

But a growing number of universities are offering courses of study for old people. Last November delegates from 21 universities met in Dortmund for the first congress of an organisation set up to promote university facilities for elderly adults.

In Wuppertal the Institute of Social Medicine and Andragogy works in conjunction with the university, and various courses of senior studies are offered at colleges and universities in Hanover, Freiburg, Trier, Frankfurt, Saarbrücken, Lüneburg, Darmstadt and Kassel.

Facilities are planned in Hamburg, Bremen, Oldenburg, Berlin, Hildesheim, Göttingen, Osnabrück, Brunswick and Freiburg.

Professor Veelken is confident the number of courses will continue to increase. Responsibility and coordination must be improved to ease the fears some universities have of greater freedom of access and the fears existing further education facilities have of their work being undermined.

Evening classes and night school must continue to provide wide-ranging facilities for the general public and pave the way for further training at university for those interested.

Jan Christoph Schwartz
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger,
Cologne, 26 March 1986)

Continued from page 12

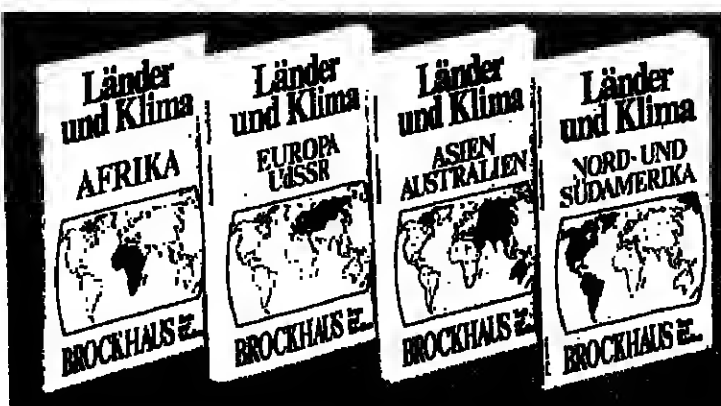
of error. Each successive reading differs slightly from the last, but the range of possibilities is limited.

Dr Jacobshagen hopes his analysis will reveal the exact extent of the hereditary factor's effect on voice quality.

Identical twins are particularly well suited for investigations of this kind. Detailed measurements have proved beyond doubt that monozygotic, or identical, twins do indeed have voices so similar as to be virtually indistinguishable.

Albert Bachtold
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 4 April 1986)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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■ MODERN LIVING

Twentieth century youth culture in Stuttgart

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Youth Culture Since 1890 is the subject of an exhibition at the Württembergischer Kunstverein in Stuttgart.

About that time an independent youth movement developed as a challenge to the cultural environment dominated by the older generation.

"Shock and Creation — Youth Aesthetics in the 20th Century," staged in conjunction with the Deutscher Werkbund, tries to trace the manifestations of this extensive phenomenon.

The advance notice of the youth exhibition proclaimed that it would highlight "their way of life and thinking, their search for meaning to life and the future, new ways of expressing themselves, their ambivalent yearning for conformity and upheaval, their attitudes in a consumer society and asceticism, their yearning for security and freedom."

To mark the beginning there is something that will appeal to the public, a confrontation between easy-going middle-class staidness with clumsy, heavy furniture including a status symbol fur coat, deliberately added to the clothes hanger.

Opposed to this is a crummy interior that makes use of the James Dean cult figure. This shows which way the cat is going to jump.

The comparisons are straightforward: young equals snappy, old equals humdrum. Youth being in fashion, the bias made clear from the outset.

The most important developments in youth culture since 1900 are outlined in texts, displayed on boards, in the gallery's domed hall.

The word "juvenile" was originally slighting. Then just before the turn of the century the word took on a criminal

implication, meaning young, anti-social people given to acts of violence. Generally speaking the word was used for working-class young people. Then after 1900, there began a youth movement that was totally unlike the way of life pursued by adults of the period. This distance from the older generation's way of life turned young people into outsiders and sect-followers.

There was the beginnings of the sun peep. Shortly before the turn of the century, as members of the popular nudist clubs they threw off their wearing apparel with enthusiasm and with the purest intentions, instead of slipping on lightweight clothes.

Against these were the male quasi-military youth movements whose idealism came to rest in the trenches of two world wars.

There were also "wild cliques" of varying kinds; from the proletarian youth culture of the 1930s to the "Swing Boys" to the young hooligans of the Economic Miracle, the Teds, the Beatniks and the Punks.

The Swing Boys were provocatively Anglophile at the beginning of the 1940s and paid for it either in prison or concentration camps (as did the painter K.H. Sonderborg, for instance.)

Other keywords in the youth movement are hippies and those involved in the student movement of the late 1960s, known in German as the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO).

In the exhibition's other rooms the organisers try to show these developments, visually highlighting them by means of photographs and displays.

Cardboard and plaster figures stand between mattresses on the floor, piles of hay and a vegetarian idyll of herbs.

The exhibition displays what life was like in a commune, in alternative sub-cultures escaping from life and in ecstatic introversion.

Members of the Wandervogel youth movement stand beside members of the punk craze.

But this manner of animating youth culture is not entirely successful. The organisers have avoided a main theme, a lack that can be tolerated, however.

But it is hard to understand why the arts of this movement are ignored. Artists took part in the youth protest movement as well. They formed a sub-culture that was immediately absorbed by accepted middle-class culture.

The young "Wild Ones," the Berlin Moritzboys around Salomé for example, who, a few years ago, enraged people by acting as "ratty animals," playing almost naked in a band, have become as respectable that the tourist board now advertises their performances.

The artistic work of the youth movement has now found its way into middle-class living-rooms.

Thanks to china manufacturers Rosenthal the "Wild Ones" have been tamad, reduced in size to wall plates:



Photo of a punk by Ulrike Rimmel

(Photo: Catalogue)

Only the plate's name indicates anything diabolic — Mephisto.

Graffiti artists did not fare any better. Their social protest designs, art for nothing for everyone, have found their way into the art market.

Young people who once were provocative have now become esteemed artists, moving freely in society.

But examples of this art, certainly a manifestation of the youth movement, penetrating sub-cultures and the fine arts alike, can be looked for in vain at the Stuttgart exhibition.

That will not harm the exhibition's popularity, however, and the Hitler Youth will be delighted to end up beside the punks in a museum.

The exhibition, which will eventually tour to Hamburg, Munich and Oberhausen, will be in Stuttgart until 18 May.

Dorothee Müller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 April 1986)

Sleeping judge 'just thinking'

Closing the eyes for a second to fight off fatigue, which can happen to overworked judges, is no evidence that the judge is not paying attention.

The Berlin administrative court has rejected a lawyer's claim that his client's appeal to be considered as a conscientious objector was not given appropriate attention in a Mainz court because one of the judges had dozed off.

The lawyer said this was a breach of procedure.

The Berlin court ruled that "a judge is sleeping or 'not present' in some way when more positive evidence is to hand such as deep, audible breathing or snoring, nodding the head with signs of a lack of orientation."

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger,

Cologne, 19 March 1986)

Unrequited farmer's forlorn wail

A Bavarian farmer, aged 53, disappointed that a 22-year-old girl on the next farm did not return his love, bellowed inarticulately in her direction for up to 30 minutes three or four times a week.

He admitted to a Munich court he had done this. He also yelled that she

Hot rod padre's latest ideas

Bernd-Jürgen Hamann was well known as the motor cyclist's pastor in Frankfurt until 1981. He now works at a church in Charlottenburg, Berlin.

To appeal to young Christians he has developed a new form of worship with a "card index sermon," which includes questions from the parish and deals with them in a short sermon on the pulpit.

This series of sermons at the three Sunday services was so successful that he proposes to do the same twice a year in future.

The questions dealt with illness, illness, age and matters of belief "came mainly from the conservative side."

One questioner asked: "Should a priest not preach about doubt? Should a person still believe in miracles?"

Hamann regards questions such as these as a problem for many young people because of the generation gap.

For the questions he abridged the service and hymn-singing, so that he had 40 minutes for his parish.

As previously he preached especially for the young. At Candlemas, the festival of the purification of the Virgin Mary, he started his service in the Charlottenburg parish church with a Christmas country band, but without wearing a cassock.

Young people read the lessons and prayers and, instead of the host, there was a Turkish flat loaf.

Yet he has no plans to establish an "alternative" parish.

When he was a member of a Protestant group his work took organised religion to many who would otherwise hardly have been interested.

He wrote about this wild, but honest period in his life in his book *Im frischen Fahrtwind will ich dich loben*, published in 1980.

He was able then to baptise 20 adult rockers, and has since devoted himself to the "average motor cyclist."

His parish contract allows him to give up a quarter of his time to their spiritual welfare.

Hamann and Pastor Ruprecht Müller-Schlemann from Hessa are among the four motor cyclist pastors in the country.

The "drive-in" divine services he has conducted since 1977 resulted in the Christian Motor Cyclists Association of which there are now 17 in West Germany.

Hamann has had memories of Frankfurt, where in 1981 he was the city youth pastor.

He said: "So long as youth work is solely concerned with emancipation, are doing young people wrong by creating in them Christian self-consciousness or showing them the Christian way of life."

His work is accepted and he is

Continued on page 15

■ SENIOR CITIZENS

Bielefeld experiment in communal living keeps the aged active and happy

Every day at 4.30 p.m. Fria Nolze, 81, sits in the large kitchen of the Bielefeld home she shares with other old people and takes afternoon coffee.

The women living in this unusual home include two 85-year-olds, one 81-year-old, one 43-year-old, one 27-year-old and two 25-year-olds.

Fria Nolze says: "Four years ago I was told in hospital that I could not live alone any more. My husband had died and my son was working as an engineer in India. But I didn't want to live in an old folks' home."

Hamburg, Wuppertal and Munich also have communal homes in which elderly people have come together because they feel the same.

Two social workers and a nurse live together with the physically and mentally ill people in the Bielefeld home.

The group consists of people who could not survive without outside help and whose only alternative to this experimental mixture of young and old people would be an old people's home.

It began in 1981. A woman suffering from multiple sclerosis who was being treated by the Association for Independent Work for the Elderly wanted to move in with members of the association to avoid having to enter a home.

They decided to squat in a condemned house that was scheduled to make way for a multi-storey car park.

Despite the catastrophic condition of the building they wasted no time in getting under way with the necessary repairs. After three months they agreed to tenancy terms with the owner, the city of Bielefeld.

After 40,000 hours of work, of which they are proud, they had renovated enough to enable the first two old ladies to move in by November 1981.

Fria Nolze saw the building for the first time while repairs were still taking place and spontaneously decided not to move in.

"But I came to like the young people and the large rooms, and I was able to bring all my furniture and even my parrot," she says.

Large rooms are an intrinsic part of the concept. The elderly are supposed to be able to arrange quickly and individually, a large living area with their own beloved and trusted furniture.

In principle the elderly and psychologically ill people are supposed to lead self-reliant and self-responsible lives as far as their existing capabilities and faculties permit rather than be driven into an increasing dependence on nursing and care.

Continued from page 14

garded as being in the "pluralistic Church" on the fringe of the established Church.

Hamann says of his "sheep" that many of their dropout attitudes are to do with aggression. The craving for speed is mixed up with depression and a death wish.

Here he turns his attention to driving instructors. He says: "Young people are taught to understand traffic signs and how to give hand signals, but no-one tells them that when they have a five-hundredweight machine in their control they must act with maturity."

Dieter Deul

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 April 1986)



This includes dietary wishes, eating habits, selection of clothing and leisure interests.

All members of the community draw up a shopping list once a fortnight. They also take communal decisions as regard to domestic changes and the moving in or out of new colleagues or occupants.

Frieda Vinke, 85, has been living there for nearly four years. She says: "We have to know about such matters too. They affect us just as much as they affect the youngsters."

Leisure arrangements are also left to the elderly. Andrea Formschlag is a social worker who got to know the community during her training as a social worker and now lives there.

She says: "It's mostly young people who think we should be offering the elderly some sort of a prospectus."

The old ladies usually spend the mornings reading newspapers. In the afternoons they go for walks or play parlor games. In the evenings, as everywhere else, television takes over.

The old ladies, like many observers, were originally expecting the young women to organise practically everything for them. But they soon realised

they would have to show initiative and accept responsibility.

Social worker Petra Behrens has been living in the community since July 1983. She says the opening phase of the project was often frustrated by the attitude that the social workers were to tackle everything.

This attitude, she says, "is tied up with a kind of consumer-like posturing as regards the younger members, who should regulate and attend to everything."

"We wanted to avoid becoming a service operation through role-allocation. Both young and old should contribute to the functioning of the group."

The question of who was going to keep the adjacent streets clean is an example which illustrates what the situation was like.

The younger women were largely occupied with the task of nursing and did not have much time for sweeping the streets. The elderly women placed a lot of importance on well-kept streets. But it never dawned on them to sweep them themselves.

Finally one of them reached for a broom and it's now one of her regular chores.

In this way, often through everyday trivialities, a mutual process of learning comes about. The young learn not to be too protective of the elderly and to allow them to do much work themselves.

Grey Panthers call for old folks' rights

reason, although this is not supposed to have been mentioned in any of the five examination reports on her.

One examination by psychologist Dr Karl Herter found that: "no matter how well run the home is, this woman with her particular need for contact and attention, would not be able to cope with the frustration of living there."

Another psychologist's report said she ought to be in domestic care.

Yet in April 1985 she was sent to the home.

A hospital administrator offered to take her into his care. But for some reason the court took the unusual step at the beginning of 1986 of putting her in the custody of a doctor woman lawyer, rather than that of the experienced administrator.

The lawyer decided that she had to stay in the home. Allegedly the lawyer, who is also guardian for more than 100 other incapacitated people, is supposed to have stopped her from receiving any visitors.

The Committee for Democracy and Civil Liberties, whose counsel includes actively involved public figures such as Heinrich Albertz, Walter Dirks, Helga Elmsle and Dorothee Sölle, consider that to be a restriction of one's right to meet people. They complained to the head of state.

The committee is of the opinion that the appointment of the lawyer was a mistake. The possible explanation is

Fixed costs such as rent, rubbish disposal, housekeeping money and wages are covered by the monthly nursing allowances.

The aged make different contributions based on their respective nursing costs.

Along with that they administer their pensions themselves and transfer costs to the communal account.

Any surplus money is handled at their discretion. This insures a certain degree of freedom. This avoids, as is usually the case, reliance on pocket money handed out by a hospital administrator.

The wages of workers not belonging to the home are also paid out of the nursing allowance. They receive the association's usual rate of DM15 per hour.

The workers who live in receive no wages but do not have to pay for rent or food. For that they take care of the aged. This consists of 18 hours housework and two to three night-shifts.

Many other people of similar age complain of isolation, anonymity and loneliness. In contrast to this the communities aged experience a feeling of community.

Along with the assurance of care and extensive individual living space, this is probably the most decisive factor in this housing project for young and old.

Andrea Formschlag says: "The common effort to keep the project financially viable has created a feeling of solidarity, and the daily cooperation gives them access to their surroundings."

Petra Behrens adds: "Let the elderly participate again in living, in discussions about politics, morals, pubs and cinema, then despite all handicaps and differences in age, they will come alive again and be able to live with one another."

Helmut Stoltenberg

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 12 April 1986)

that the hospital administrator gave the impression he would try and quash the court's judgement of incapacitation.

In any case the court's behaviour did not in the slightest take into account the well-being, dignity, or health of Frau Rausch.

The decision of the authorities seems even more inexplicable when one considers that her niece and her husband are prepared to look after her in their home.

Frau Rausch even has sufficient income to avoid burdening the taxpayer.

Politicians who have intervened in the case have also had bad experiences with red tape.

Social Democratic Bonn Bundestag MP Günter Pauli had to wait four weeks for an answer to his inquiry whether the lawyer was the guardian of 160 or of 120 people.

Meanwhile the demands of the Land Justice Ministers for new legislation are being dealt with slowly by the Bonn government.

The laws should among other things restrict the number of incapacitated people under the guardianship of one person.

They also want to put an end to using people's assets as a basis for reimbursement of guardianship costs for the administration of human life.

The law is expected in 1987/88 at the earliest and will then hardly be of much use to Frau Rausch.

One suspects that only President Richard von Weizsäcker can really achieve anything for her.

Hopefully something will happen before the Rausch affair becomes misused in a political discussion about the observance of human rights in West Germany.

Jürgen Diebäcker

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 3 April 1986)

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 25 March 1986)